SIN--rdikpa. The inexpiable sins are the murder of a father, a mother, or an "arhat" or one who is about to attain "nirvána." Other chief sins are murder, lying, theft, fornication, and drunkenness. 688

SIR--In Tibetan there is no word for "Sir;" it is not required, as the language of "respect" is almost a language in [147] itself. The word "joo" or "jooley" added to a sentence is a term of respect, thus a servant saying "yes, Sir" would say "kasa joo." The word "Sahib" is pretty will [sic] understood near Leh. 195 576

SLATE--hiámángs. This word means "slate," but as "slate" is the only kind of slab stone known to Ladákis, all slab stones are termed "slate." Samthra (or samtha) is the name of the wooden boards used like school-slates. Dust is scattered on them, and on this the children write. 135 872

SLAVERY--GHóyálches. In former days there used to be three classes of slaves in Ladák. One class consisted of Tartars from the high Chángtháng plain, which stretches from the eastern frontier of Ladák to the vicinity of the Mánásarwar Lake, who had in their childhood been sold by their parents to people of Ladák. Those were termed "GHóyál" and were slaves in the ordinary sense of the word. About 1873, Mr. Johnson, who was then Wazeer of Ladák, ordered all these slaves to be set at liberty, and he prohibited the further traffic in Tartar children. Of the slaves then set free, a few elected to remain in Ladák, but the large majority returned to their own country. Another class of slaves consisted of the illegitimate children of Dógra or Kashmiri sepoys, etc., by women of Ladák. These were termed "GHulámzádah" and were State slaves; they were supported by the Kashmir State, and had to work without receiving any pay. They were not permitted to leave the country. About 1868, an attempt was made to convert them into agriculturists, but owing to their want of skill and capital, the attempt failed. In 1871, Mr. Drew, who was then Wazeer, obtained the Maharaja's permission to set them free. They have long since been absorbed into the general population of the country. The third class consisted of State debtors, or their descendants. These debtors were fraudulent debtors having made away with, or 567 [848] 687 567 426

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

797 871 Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life. Moravian Mission schools.

Schools are in existence at both stations, at Pú for boys as well as for girls, while at Kyelang at present only one for girls is attached to the Mission; about thirty girls receive instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, religious instruction, singing, sowing, and knitting stockings, &c. Pupils of Christian parents attend the whole year; non-Christians only during the winter months; the latter being employed by their parents otherwise during summer. Several schools for boys were formerly connected with the Mission in different villages of Láhaul, the aim of all being to impart a good primary education suiting a rural population, among which the Mission chiefly works. After a course of five years or less, the boys were dismissed to their homes, others taking their place. Of late, however, circumstances arose which made it desirable to amalgamate these schools into one Government School at Kyelang, and thus it came about that the Mission, at least for the present, has no boys' school. The number of pupils at Kyelang is at present about thirty girls, at Pú about ten girls and from ten to fifteen boys.

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As to literary works the Mission has published ten school books, including a geographical work with maps and compendiums of general and sacred history; one small and two large Dictionaries in the Tibetan language (Tibetan-English and Tibetan-German); the New Testament has been translated and printed, or rather is at present issuing from the press in Europe, while portions of the Old Testament are also ready for the press, &c., &c.

000 Language.

The language of the whole Kúlu sub-division has been fully discussed in Part II (pages 33—35).

184 871 212 Education.

In Láhaul a comparatively large proportion of the population can read and write Tánkri, Pahári and also Tibetan. Education is more advanced here than in Kúlu. The *lámás* can all read the printed character: but they are not all able to write Tibetan; and they do not as a rule know Tánkri. The traders know both Tánkri and Tibetan. The fact of the Láhaulis engaging generally in trade both with Kúlu and with Ladákh and Tibet, may explain why the elements of education are more widely spread among them than in Kúlu. There is only one school in Láhaul, and in it both Urdu and Tibetan are taught, boys having to pass through a course of Tibetan before they are admitted into the Urdu classes. Still here, as in Kúlu, education is considered as a species of *begár* or forced labour: and the parent expects to be exempted from carrying loads and so forth, while his son is at school. In Spiti education is at its lowest. Few can read, and fewer still can write. Urdu is unknown; and an interpreter is kept to translate for the Nono's benefit the few orders that relate to that part of the subdivision. There is no school in Spiti.

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142 Appearance of the people.

At first sight of the people of Spiti and Láhaul you perceive that you have left India, and are among a Tartar or Mongol race. The figures, both of men and women, are short and stout; their complexions are a ruddy brown instead of a black brown or dusky yellow: their faces are broad and flat, with high cheek bones and oblique eyes; they have broad mouths and flat noses with wide nostrils. Except in extreme youth, the skin of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 In this case a girl must do duty. She begins her monastic life early. Her hair is shorn, she dons the clerical red, which is, however, cut like the dress of a lay-woman, and wears a tight-fitting red or yellow hat, with the sides only turned up. She is now dignified with the title of Grandmother or *Abi Jomo*, just as a lama of any age is respectfully venerated as Grandfather or *Meme Lama*. Generally the nuns continue to live quietly in their homes, but sometimes they are segregated, as in Lamayuru, where there is quite a little nun village. They do not in Ladak perform any ritual, though in Central Tibet they are fetched from their convents to read the holy books in private houses just as the lamas are. They of course remain unmarried, and are generally very ignorant, spending their time in menial labour or working in the fields of the monastery.

797 875 The teachers in this Buddhist country are generally lamas, and their work is practically restricted to teaching those youths who will enter the Church or the sons of noblemen to read. It is quite unnecessary for their scholars to understand 788 the written page. In this there is little virtue, but the actual reading of holy books is meritorious. If the lamas are called in to read *Chos* (religion), they each take one page and then read all together, so that ten lamas reading ten pages will get through a book of a hundred pages in one tenth of the 779 time, which is all to the good. The only books possessed by Buddhists are religious ones, and when the unsophisticated villager sees a Westerner reading a novel or secular literature, he respects him for "reading religion," though a more travelled gentleman may suspect the reading of an *akbar* 795 or newspaper. The Mohammedans too have schools for the 872 children of their co-religionists, and their text-book is, of 875 course, the Koran in the original, namely Arabic. Sitting in a sunny spot in a semi-circle can be seen about a dozen Mussulman boys, each with a book before him. The teacher, an ordinary layman, who knows a little more than his brothers,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

acts as mentor. He probably has a shop on the other side of the road, and keeps his eye open for stray customers while listening to his pupils. He reads a phrase and all the boys say it after him. Ask taught or teacher to explain what has been read, and they will acknowledge complete ignorance, and this with absolutely no feeling of shame. In Mohammedanism and Buddhism it seems as if the letter does not kill, but gives life. If the teacher is tired, he allows his class to practise reading by themselves. Each boy reads in a loud voice what 'seemeth him good,' and a horrible noise results.

Next in importance, though not in status, come the musicians and minstrels. Although no function is complete without the band, yet those providing the music are low in caste and classed with carpenters, both generally of Mon descent. They possess two kinds of instruments only, the small kettle-drum, the parchment of which is tightly stretched over a wooden frame shaped like a large bowl and is beaten with two short sticks; these drums are termed *dummadums*, which describes the music made so accurately that nothing further need be said. The other instrument is the flageolet, made of wood about two feet long, decorated with silver, and having a small metal mouthpiece. The tone this produces is a beautifully mellow one, and the tunes consist of many demi-semi-tones. If necessary these gentlemen will play almost continuously from morning till night, only needing a little beer or butter-tea and barley-flour occasionally to keep them going. These are the professional musicians, but many an ordinary family can boast its bard, who recounts the wonderful deeds performed by the mythical King Kesar, or tells of an heroic act done by some ancient townsman. The story is told, but every now and again the teller breaks into song, accompanying himself on his home-made fiddle. This is much like its Western counterpart, only the wooden section is narrower, shorter and deeper, and this sound-box is covered above with parchment. Strings are made of sheeps' GUT, AND THE BOW OF HORSEHAIR.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

imposed himself. He did not do so with any severity, however, as parents are usually "afraid of their children", fearing that if they are too strict, they will not be well treated by them later, when they themselves have to go into the *k'hang-gu*.

I enquired who it was who gave the children their sex education. The answer was that nobody did. Parents are forbidden by custom to speak to them of such things, and they have to pick up what they can learn from playmates. Another source of information was watching animals, it seemed, and everyone agreed that they *may* learn something from witnessing their parents' behaviour during the long winter nights in the *Jan-sa*. Anyhow, they "somehow" knew about sex by the time they were approximately six years of age.

Sexual games between children, as well as masturbation, were very severely punished if discovered by the parents. The father would beat a child caught playing with itself or attempting coitus with another child. Mothers, it seemed, did not beat, but pinched instead, and this could be made very unpleasant for the victim. It was impressed upon me that if a child was a favourite, it might be dealt with more leniently, and that no attempt to deal out punishment equally was made.

In very small children, masturbation was repressed by attempts to frighten the child. It would be told by its mother that a sort of witch called a *baghzi* (a Hindu name?) would come and either carry the child away, or cut off its ears and put them in a leather bag which the creature carried expressly for the purpose of collecting the ears of bad children. No threat was ever made that the genital organs of the child would be cut off, and the idea that this might be said seemed utterly fantastic to my informants. As a sign of the times, I heard that children were also threatened with being carried off by Tungan robbers (these were Chinese Moslems from Sinkiang who, in 1938, had just been chased out of Turkestan by Soviet troops, and had escaped Southwards, over the Karakorum pass; they stayed in Leh for some time before being repatriated by sea to China by the Government of India).

When children were between six and seven years old, their formal education began. They were taught to read and write Tibetan by qualified teachers, usually lamas, for about one year. Most of the teaching consisted in getting the pupil to learn long texts by heart and reciting them, in the very early morning. Corporal punishment was administered if the lesson was not learned properly. When the year was up, more practical things were taught, such as agriculture and the traditional ways in which crops are grown in Ladak. Pastoral duties were also inculcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

culcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade.

Those children who were put in monasteries, either boys or girls, were usually sent there at the respective ages of eight and fourteen. The boys became lamas and were put through a very severe period of probation. They were attached to a master whom they had to serve completely, as if they were his body-servant. Frequent corporal punishment was meted out to them and this was quite usual – in fact it was a perfectly correct thing to do, and many jokes had to do with the way in which a master gave his pupil a correction with a whip, on the slightest pretext, when he felt that he had not been attentive to his merest whim. In nunneries, very much the same happened, except that relations between elders and probationers were not so acute. A girl was usually trained by a *jetsün-ma* (*rJe-btsun-ma*), or senior nun, before becoming a *cho-mo* (*Jo-mo*) or ordinary nun, and the relation between the two women was of a much less brutal nature.

(iii) *Reasons given for the existence of polyandry in Ladak*

The consensus of opinion among the informants in the various polyandrous households that I visited about why they followed this particular type of matrimonial custom, was that it was the only way to avoid dividing up the property and thus being impoverished in a bleak and arid land. I was also told, as a secondary reason, that it enabled a household to obtain the sufficient labour that it needed to cultivate the fields; where many brothers inherited the property jointly, and took one wife in common, they could easily cope with the work to be done, as there were enough hands to do it.

Only once did I hear that there might be yet another reason beyond these for which polyandry was followed by the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan affinity. It was on the 30th September 1938, near Ridzong, when we met a bandit from Tibet proper, called Norgyäs. He told me that polyandry was practised by Tibetans so as to avoid the wives of the brothers quarrelling. Peace in the house, according to him, could only be obtained if there was only one wife in the family.

The Reverend Walter Asboe was of the opinion that it was a blessing that polyandry existed among the Buddhists. In so poor and difficult an environment, he said, another matrimonial system would probably only lead either to strife over the obtention of food, or to widespread famine. In this, he was only echoing what previous Moravian missionaries as well as many authors have said when speaking or writing about the customs of the people in Ladak.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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It would hardly be looked for that of these Bhots a considerable number should be able to read and write; but it is the case that a far larger proportion than among their neighbours—the Kashmīris for instance, to say nothing of the Baltīs and the Dārds—have these accomplishments. A predisposing cause to this doubtless is the length of time, during the winter, when agricultural work is stopped and occasion for indoor pursuits arises. Probably the practice of one son out of each family commonly being set apart to become a Lāmā has distinctly aided the progress of this elementary education. In almost every village there are some who can write freely and accurately.

There are certain traits of manners in a people that a traveller is very likely to miss altogether, that one only occasionally—when some unusual event brings them to view—has an opportunity of observing. Such an event was my own coming to Leh in 1871. I had visited the place before when examining into the mineral resources of the country; but that year I came to take up the Governorship of Ladākh, to which the Maharaja had appointed me. Thus I was able to observe the way in which these people receive those to whom they wish to do honour. People of all classes turned out at every inhabited place we came near. The villagers collect at the entrance of the village, with the musicians in attendance playing on flageolet and tom-tom. The women in their brightest petticoats and gayest ornaments are drawn up in line, each holding a vessel containing either barley-meal, or milk, or chang, or some other thing to eat or to drink. But these offerings are not intended to be taken as provision; they are not as the *dālīs* in India, where a very substantial amount of eatables is often given; here they are tokens merely. Lastly, some of the women carry earthen vessels in which burn chips of pencil-cedar, whose perfume is counted holy and pure. As one comes up, all place their vessels on the ground, and make profound and not undignified bows. At each village in succession that we passed through for some six days' march was this repeated. At one part of the journey we passed at a distance of a mile or two from a large monastery. A deputation of Lāmās came down to the road

241 [231] [262] range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** [691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872] Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.